

The HISTORICAL BULLETIN



A CATHOLIC QUARTERLY
for Teachers and Students of History

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No. 1

Emperor Charles the Fifth

Laurence K. Patterson

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Leo XIII and Historical Studies

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Jottings

Mommsen's History of Rome

William E. Dooley

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Emperor Charles the Fifth

Laurence K. Patterson
Woodstock College

TO SUMMARIZE in brief the career of Charles V is almost impossible. From his election as "Holy Roman Emperor" in 1519, until his retirement to Yuste in 1555 the story of Charles is the history of Europe. Charles V was truly the "Atlas Mundi." His empire was a vast assemblage of nations which he strove to rule in a period of religious revolution, economic transformation, and political upheaval. He was King of Spain; Naples, Sardinia, Sicily, and Milan were directly beneath his sway; the Netherlands, the Empire, the vassal kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, Savoy, Franche Comté, and the "boundless regions of the New World," completed the realm of Charles V. Even the Empire ruled by Trajan and Hadrian seems small compared with the heritage of Charles V.

Born and bred in the Netherlands, Charles was chosen Emperor at the age of nineteen. A wave of German national feeling aided his accession to the Imperial throne. The Fuggers, and the commercial interests in general, rallied to his support. German humanists, as a class, were on his side. His rival, Francis I, had promised "strong government" and "to check the Turk." The first "plank" caused alarm in Germany. Princes and cities had no desire for "strong rule." They wished to retain their virtual independence under the nominal sway of a youthful Emperor.

Charles faced complicated problems at his accession in 1519. He was confronted by the Moslem menace, now acute in Eastern Europe; "particularism" in Germany had reduced the Imperial authority to a shadow; France pursued an anti-Hapsburg policy, sometimes aggressive, sometimes insidious; the Roman Curia was distrustful in its attitude. The "Hapsburg peril" alarmed all Europe.

To rule Germany proved "infinitely hard." "Particular-

ism" held sway. Even apart from the Reformation, Charles faced a terrific task in Germany. Princes and Towns were at odds; the Knights hated both the feudal rulers and the city magistrates. A turbulent class, the Knights declared the Emperor their sole "over-lord" in theory, while in practice they flouted all authority. National resistance to French and Turkish aggression thus became impossible. Charles strove in vain to alter the anti-Hapsburg policy of France. Francis I even allied himself with the Sultan to check the "Hapsburg Colossus." The woes of Germany were climaxed by the outbreak of the Lutheran Revolt.

In 1519, however, Charles was hailed with enthusiasm in Germany. Both Catholics and later Reformers hoped for his support; the towns believed that his advent meant a revival of trade, and the end of brigandage; Princes welcomed a young, and presumably rather "weak" Emperor, who would not menace their practical autonomy; and even the Knights were, for a time, eager to welcome him. He was not an inspiring or attractive figure. He was simple, reserved, and almost awkward in appearance. Yet the shrewd Papal Legate, Cardinal Aleander, writes of the new Emperor: "Say what men will, he seems to me well-endowed with sense."

The Diet of Worms, in 1521, marks a turning point in the career of Charles V. For the only time in his life he stood face to face with Luther. Behind the rebel monk stood Sickingen and the knights, Von Hutten and many humanists, powerful princes, and a section of the clergy, both secular and regular. Many hoped for a "compromise," and urged the Emperor to "caution, prudence, and moderation." But to Charles Luther was "the incarnation of rebellion." "I will not rend the seamless robe of Christ," he declared. Luther was already under ex-

communication by the Holy See, and to this Charles now added the "ban of the Empire." Men did not fully grasp it at the time, but Worms was the death-knell of Christendom.

In Italy, Charles was distrusted by the Papal Curia, and faced the national dislike of the "barbarians." But in 1525 he routed the intriguing Francis I at Pavia, and captured the French king. Yet through the lenient Treaty of Madrid Charles really lost his great chance to end the "French threat." Pavia was largely a "Pyrric Triumph." All Europe was filled with alarm at the renewal of a "world Empire."

As friend and foe alike dreaded the rising power of Charles, the disaster of Mohacs laid Hungary open to the advancing Turks in 1526. Belloc calls it "the decisive catastrophe of Mohacs field." After this disaster Mohammedan pressure "crippled the Emperor's power, and allowed the breakup of religion to run its full course."

In 1527 occurred the capture and sack of Rome, the great blot upon the memory of Charles. He was not fully responsible, it is true, for the breach with the Vatican. Again, he deplored the awful scenes of pillage, arson, and murder which followed the fall of the Eternal City. His general, the Constable de Bourbon, had fallen in leading an attack upon the breach. The Imperial troops, chiefly German "Landsknechts" and Spanish regulars, burst all bounds in the hour of victory. Yet some see in this frightful orgy the "digitus Dei." The sack of Rome was the beginning of the end for the "Renaissance Papacy." It seems to have been a divine judgment upon the corrupt and half-Pagan element, too dominant at the Curia for more than a century.

Pope Clement VII came to terms with Charles after the pillaging of Rome, and crowned him Emperor at Bologna in 1527. But Francis I was again intriguing against Charles, and the Turkish advance to Budapest filled all Europe with terror. The Turkish menace forced Charles to placate the Lutheran Princes in Germany. Until 1545 he pursued the famous policy of "suspension, comprehension, and Council." After 1545 Charles attempted to uproot Lutheranism by force, but it was too late. The Peace of Augsburg, in 1555, marked the final disruption of Christendom.

Charles, born and educated in Belgium, was a true Fleming in temperament, and his rule was popular in the Netherlands. His native country was a bright spot in his reign. In Italy, the victory of Pavia, and the capture of Rome, did not produce lasting results. However, Charles kept a firm grip upon Naples and Sicily. His authority in the remainder of Italy was really null. Italy was destined to remain "a geographical expression" for three centuries. In Spain, but recently united, Charles faced a turbulent nobility and a townsfolk imbued with its medieval spirit of independence. But the Emperor was successful in Spain. By 1555 he had nobility and towns well in hand, thus leaving a solid basis for the strong monarchy of Philip II.

Charles strove to shield the American Indian from oppression and exploitation by the Conquistadores. He even wished to throw open the American trade to his entire Empire. This wise policy was frustrated, and Spain, grasping at monopoly, became a victim of English and Dutch "interloping." Again, the American Empire

drained Spain of man power, and in return glutted her with "a breed of barren metal."

The task of Charles was superhuman. His Empire was superb but "ramshackle," "its units were in splendid isolation." As Armstrong writes, "Threads French and English, Lutheran and Papal, Spanish and Italian, Turkish, African and American, twine in and out to form the tapestried story of his reign." His task required the gift of "omnipresence." To add to his problems, Charles was in constant need of "ready money." This caused him to depend upon the Fuggers and other bankers for funds, and at times crippled his policies. The division of the Empire in 1555 was wise. Even Napoleon could not have ruled the Empire of Charles with success.

Armstrong thus sums up the character of Charles V: "A very human character, marked by honesty of purpose, warped at times by self-interest . . . Industry, interrupted by fits of indolence." Charles possessed "self-control, ruffled but rarely, by sudden bursts of passion." "Obstinacy and irresolution, strange yoke-fellows" are also noted in his temperament.

Though unversed in theology, Charles was a sincere Catholic. He strove to hear Mass daily, and communicated six times a year. His portraits seem to exaggerate his homely face and figure. All authorities note the simple, sincere, and often jovial manner of Charles. He was an insatiable reader. Troubled at times with insomnia, he forced his secretary to spend long hours at night reading aloud to him. Asthma also crippled him in middle age.

Charles was exceptionally well informed concerning geography, industry, and commerce. Music was a passion with him. Like most of his family, Charles was an intelligent and generous patron of the Fine Arts. Sir Richard Morison, the English Ambassador, describes an interview with Charles in 1552. "He was seated at a bare table on which he had placed his cloak and spectacles." The "Atlas Mundi" was at heart a simple Flemish gentleman yet all were impressed with his innate dignity. Always somewhat awkward in bearing, his courtesy was sincere and not affected. Charles was a loving husband and an affectionate father. For relatives and true friends Charles showed real devotion. Armstrong concludes his classic work: "Such a man was Charles V. Not a highly dramatic figure, but all deductions made, an honorable Christian gentleman, striving in spite of physical defects, moral temptations and political impossibilities to do his duty in his state of life."

The sack of Rome was the great blot upon the career of Charles V. Yet he strove honestly to fulfill his role of "Dominus Domini." In 1555 the tired Emperor laid down his burden and retired in 1556 to the seclusion of Yuste. Two years later the final summons came. Charles had largely failed. He left Germany divided, he beheld Christendom in dissolution. He lacked the genius of Napoleon, he fell far short of St. Louis of France in sanctity. Called upon to rule an Empire greater than that of Trajan, faced with problems that would have staggered Caesar or Napoleon, many failures marked his long struggle. It is easy to criticise the errors, and to condemn the faults of Charles V. Yet the Emperor strove to save Christendom from ruin; he reached out his imperial arm to shield the helpless Indian from brutal

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Mommsen's History of Rome

William E. Dooley
St. Louis University

IN THE years 1854, 1855, and 1856, Theodor Mommsen published the three volumes of his *Roemische Geschichte*. No modern scholar has been better equipped than Mommsen for so monumental a task: combining critical and historical gifts of the first order with exhaustive research in all matters related to his chosen field, he possessed at once the fiery ardor and scholarly acumen necessary for a sympathetic portrayal of Roman history and the Roman genius. The *History* made Mommsen famous in a day, and was quickly translated into every civilized language. Freeman, writing an Introduction for the first edition of the work in an English translation during Mommsen's own lifetime, declared that "Mommsen's *Roman History* is, beyond all doubt, to be ranked among those really great historical works which do so much honour to our own day."¹ Succeeding generations of readers, despite the increasing rigidity of historical criticism, have confirmed this judgment. The *Guide to Historical Literature* thus summarizes the qualities of the *History*: "The general method of treatment, the keen estimates of political situations and characters, and the crisp, vigorous style combine to ensure this work a place among the classics of historical literature." Of Mommsen's personal characteristics as an historian, Freeman writes: "Mommsen is a real historian; his powers of research and judgment are of a very high order; he is skilful in the grasp of his whole subject, and vigorous and independent in his way of dealing with particular portions."

As an example of contemporary historical judgment on Mommsen and his significance, we may quote the following from Gooch:

Mommsen and Ranke stand together and alone in the first class of nineteenth-century historians. Ranke's works were almost entirely of a narrative character, while Mommsen earned fame not only as a master of narration but as an interpreter of institutions and an editor of inscriptions and texts. They resembled each other in their marvelous productiveness and their combination of critical technique with synthetic vision. Both were the honoured masters of generations of eager students, and both lived to see their fame established beyond all cavil or rivalry. Mommsen's publications extended over sixty years. There is no immaturity in his early works and no decline in the later. He alone has achieved the complete assimilation and reproduction of a classic civilization for which scholars have struggled ever since Scaliger. Rome before Mommsen was like Modern Europe before Ranke.²

Concerning the *History of Rome* itself, this same author says: "In sheer brilliance and power no historical work in the German language, save Treitschke's *Deutsche Geschichte* approaches it."

Two methods of approach are open to one who would write on Mommsen and his *Roemische Geschichte*. It is possible to treat the subject as a critic of the factual data assembled by the German writer; and most of the modern commentators on Mommsen's greatest work tend

to interpret him in this fashion. If indeed there are any important errors of fact in the five books of the *History*, they have certainly long since been uncovered; especially is this statement true of the theories (largely conjectural, as Mommsen himself admits,) of the first book, which are based for the most part on philological studies. At the time when Mommsen wrote, the comparative study of languages was as yet still undeveloped enough to lead many of the German scholars—historians and classicists as well as professed philologists like Max Mueller—to hope that many hitherto insoluble problems of antiquity would yield to evidence preserved in the forms of language itself. Since then, however, the actual mass of data collected by the linguistic botanists has increased to such an amazing extent that it entirely exceeds the limits of any systematized classification thus far proposed. Moreover, the study of archeology has made great progress in the past half-century, and has uncovered evidence of the greatest moment with which Mommsen could not possibly have been conversant. We can, then,—and with little detriment to Mommsen's work as a whole—allow the critics to take what liberties they wish with the earlier portions of the *History*, although Freeman considered these to be "the very best portion of the book." The more critical dictum of the *Guide to Historical Literature* is no doubt valid: "Archeological discoveries and the progress of historical criticism have rendered antiquated the earlier part of this work."

But let us say quite frankly as general readers in the field of Roman history that we are not greatly interested in these questions of pure scholarship. Freeman, indeed, is not satisfied with Mommsen's arbitrary treatment of certain hotly debated points: he would wish for more documentation, for a recognition of the views of Niebuhr, of the English writers Lewis and Arnold, conceivably for more copious footnotes. But this is the view of a professional historian. I think I am not wrong in saying that it is precisely the comparative *absence* of all this learned lumber which makes Mommsen's entire work so interesting, so vital, so entirely readable for that large class of students who, while not utterly *unscholarly*, are yet willing to sacrifice a detailed discussion of recondite points in favor of that sweeping narrative which Mommsen uses to depict in masterful fashion the *spirit* and the *soul* of Roman history. Nor is the attitude of such readers to be described as uncritical. Everyone who studies Mommsen's pages closely must soon convince himself that the flowing and finished whole, replete as it is with brilliant generalizations and characterizations, is yet founded on a most intense and exhaustive scholarship. The very sureness and force of the convictions so confidently enunciated gives evidence of a careful reading of all the sources, of opinion balanced against opinion in the writer's mind: such convictions are not offensive with a pedant's dogmatism, but inspire confidence as being in themselves objective. Freeman of course must admit that "Mommsen is quite capable of defending his own ground against either Niebuhr or Sir G. C. Lewis. We

¹ This preface is to be found in Everyman's Library edition of W. P. Dickson's translation of the *Geschichte* (J. M. Dent & Sons. London. 1911, reprinted in 1920, 1931. Four volumes.) All excerpts in present article are from this translation.

² *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*. Longmans, Green. London. 1928.

feel sure that he has gone carefully through every point of controversy in his own mind." And most readers, assured of this fact, will quite willingly abandon subtleties and accept the mature reflections of Mommsen's years of study.

We propose, then, to discuss—in however disordered a fashion—some of those traits which seem to make Mommsen's *History of Rome* a work of true historical genius, worthy to be ranked with that of antiquity's only critical historian, Thucydides, or with the more modern classics of Gibbon and von Ranke.

Mommsen's *Roemische Geschichte* appeared originally in three volumes, which were internally divided into five books. It is important to note the compass of the individual volumes. Volume One treats of Rome's origins and early history until the battle of Pydna; Volume Two, of the middle period of the republic to the rise of the dictators and the death of Sulla; Volume Three closes with the final confirmation of Caesar's power at the battle of Thapsus: for Mommsen has not the heart to murder his idol.

The three large periods of Roman history thus marked off are conscious and logical divisions which are ever before Mommsen's mind as he writes, and which he will never allow the reader entirely to forget. Volume One, comprehending Books I, II, and III, is for him the greatest period of the Roman republic. After its obscure beginnings as a trading-post fortunately situated on the Tiber, Rome gradually pushes its frontiers beyond Latium to the southern coasts of the peninsula, westward to Sicily, Africa, and Spain, northward to the Alps and the Apennines, eastward finally to Greece and Macedon, and even to Asia Minor. Especially in the rise of the city-state from a member of the Latin League to the hegemony of all Italy, does Mommsen find the supreme expression of all that was greatest, noblest, and most characteristic in the Roman genius. "There was no epoch of mightier vigor in the history of Rome than the epoch from the institution of the republic to the subjugation of Italy" (Book II, Chapter 8). This was the period of the true republic, when "every citizen was also a soldier, and the soldier was above all a citizen" (IV, 6); when "it was necessary for all the burgesses to be alike, that each of them might be a king" (II, 8); when, consequently, those typical Roman virtues of *gravitas*, *pietas*, *fortitudo* as displayed in the characters of Appius Claudius and Lucius Cornelius Scipio were yet vigorous and untainted. It is this period which Mommsen had especially in mind when he wrote: "Rome reached a greatness such as no other state of antiquity attained" (II, 8). For, representative of the best Roman traditions and of the entire Roman policy was the Senate; and the events of this period were, as Mommsen indicates, precisely those which a senatorial government in its pristine vigor could most easily handle. Characterizing this legislative body as a whole, Mommsen says:

... the Roman senate was the noblest organ of the nation, and in consistency and political sagacity, in unanimity and patriotism, in grasp of power and unwavering courage, the foremost political corporation of all times—still even now an "assembly of kings," which knew well how to combine despotic energy with republican self-devotion. Never was a state represented in its external relations more firmly and worthily than Rome in its best times by its senate. . . . the Roman people was enabled by means of its senate to carry out for a longer term than is usually granted to

a people the grandest of all human undertakings—a wise and happy self-government (II, 3).

In his second large division, Mommsen traces the gradual decline of native Roman ideals, the decay of home life and the simple virtues from contact with a decadent Greek civilization, the corruption of political aims at the capital and in the provinces, above all the incompetence of the senatorial government, adapted as it was for local rule, to deal with the larger problems thrust upon it by world dominion. "The government of the world," says Mommsen, "difficult in the attainment, was still more difficult in the preservation; the Roman senate had mastered the former task, but it broke down under the latter" (IV, 1). The historian's indictment of this period of Roman dominance is sweeping, forceful, utterly condemnatory. The rottenness manifests itself, he believes, not only in the externals of maladministration, but internally in the literature, art, religion, and morals of the times. Attempts at reform were inevitable; but, just as inevitably, they were destined to be abortive for reasons to be indicated below. The senatorial aristocracy could not retain its power, but must yield to the strong arm of some military dictator who should combine in his person Marius's cold-blooded unscrupulous courage, the high intellectual powers of Sulla, and a driving fire of personal ambition. Thus even from afar, amidst the wreck of constitutional forms, Mommsen is pointing to his idea of imperialism, Gaius Julius Caesar, whose commanding figure dominates the third period.

It is well to insist here at some length on Mommsen's scathing denunciation of the senatorial government (variously named by him "patrician," "oligarchic," "aristocratic"), for this attack is a main feature in his treatment of the second period of the Roman republic. The historian's attitude, although sincere and evidently founded on fact, has nevertheless a forward-looking interest. It is Mommsen's contention that any state of antiquity—Rome itself, the greatest of them, not excepted—was necessarily determined to a certain form of political development, culminating in a peak beyond which no further progress was possible, but corruption inevitable. Such a necessity followed from elements essential to the nature of antiquity, chief among which were the accepted principle that one state should be absolutely sovereign among contemporary powers; the lack of any truly representative form of government; and the universality of slavery. Rome, while falling heir to these common weaknesses of ancient polity, had the peculiar difficulty of attempting to rule nations and even continents with a constitution adapted at best to meet the requirements of a leading city-state among other city-states.

Now Mommsen firmly believes that Rome had reached the acme of its political and national development about the time of the Carthaginian Wars; but we may extend this period of greatness to include the Battle of Pydna (168 B. C.). From this date onward, Rome assumes the proportions, if not the name and the forms, of an empire. The first consequence of this fact was that Rome's constitution, in no wise suited to world dominion, collapsed utterly under the weight of vast territorial acquisitions, thus opening the door to every sort of political corruption both at Rome itself and in the conquered na-

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EDITORIALS

Why Are We Different?

European civilization, our civilization, is unique. It is not merely one of a dozen Spenglerian cycles. Older civilizations long buried in the sands of Asia or along the course of the Nile possessed their share of perennial human elements, and we are grateful to the enthusiasts who dig up their relicts. But we have little patience with the "broad-minded" vulgarizers who pretend to discover a parity of dignity and worth in all civilizations, fore-Christian, Christian and after-Christian. We have much in common with Oriental peoples and with our ancestors in ancient times. But we are different.

Two recent books* lie on the editorial desk side by side. They have little in common, but their titles are equally suggestive, and a rapid reading of their contents has stimulated a few reflections that seem to fit into a single picture. *Christianity and Politics* presents a long survey of the inter-twining of religion and life which was once the dominant characteristic of Christian Europe (as it has also been in other regions wherever man has lived a wholesome natural existence). *The Expansion of Europe* portrays the titanic struggle of modern times in which a conquering upsurge of vital energy and an intense application of mind to the mastery of natural forces by mechanical means have given Europe the unquestioned hegemony of the world. Which of the two has made us different?

The surface observer will at once pronounce for the latter, and we are prepared to listen to his reasons. Professor Abbott will provide an endless string of Victorian shibboleths: democracy, nationality, industry; science exploring the secrets of nature and applying mechanical power to countless machines; a thousand comforts and conveniences that go to make an earthly paradise; the laboratories and the libraries which assure to man the mastery of his destiny. Professor Abbott first published his book in 1917. Hence his unruffled assurance in speaking of the "intellectual, economic, and spiritual

[!] progress of mankind." But does our superiority over the backward peoples of other times and places lie in anything essential to man, or is it one of degree only? And is not (or was not) the readiness to assume our unqualified superiority an indication of a sad perversion of values? We can do bigger things and do them more quickly than any former age. But increase of mass and speed would seem to be accidental to man. It may help him to master what he considers his fate, but surely he is not thereby made the "captain of his soul," of a soul whose existence he tends progressively to deny or ignore.

If the encyclopedic array of facts in *The Expansion of Europe* was all important to the student of a decade or two ago, the vastly more vital single fact which is the theme of *Politics and Christianity* calls more loudly for attention at the present moment of confusion. There are statements in both books with which we disagree. But we are aggressively with the minority who will find greater consolation in the story of man struggling (amid whatever failures) to build a society under God, than in the story of man contented with his machine civilization and his feverish mundane philosophy of life. Even if the right philosophy of political life were not supremely important in its consequences, we should assign it a major rôle in the drama of history in preference to the external rush and worry which is typically modern. For it is precisely in this fundamental Christian character of our civilization that we find the uniqueness alluded to above.

Professor Hyma links together democracy and Christianity, and sees in them the objects of attack in a world that is falling before the autocrats of de-Christianized Europe. Rightly, he discerns in Communism and Fascism the twin offspring of Liberalism. They represent the last low stage in the recession of Europe from the high philosophy of a saner period. Ever since modern man turned his back on his Christian heritage he has been moving toward the slavery which is now creeping westward over Europe. The "secularization of politics" has ended where only it could end, in the disinheriting of the individual. Professor Hyma is partial to the Reformers of the sixteenth century, and a bit too enthusiastic over his Dutch ancestors. But we are grateful to him for his assembling of abundant texts which reveal the Christian origins of

* *Christianity and Politics: a History of the Principles and Struggles of Church and State*, by Albert Hyma. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott Company. 1938. pp. 331. \$3.00.

J. B. Lippincott Company. 1938. pp. 331. \$3.00.

The Expansion of Europe: a Social and Political History of the Modern World, 1415-1815, by Wilbur Cortez Abbott. New York. F. S. Crofts & Co. 1938. pp. xxx and 512 & 516. \$5.00.

the best political thought in Europe and also in America. It will surprise some to note how long the Christian ideal, based on faith and sound philosophy, lingered among the statesmen and theorizers who built up the modern state system. The moral should be, not to retrace our steps, but to reach back and recover the essential truth without which any civilization must be unstable, and with which our civilization will remain unique.

Communism and Man

Karl Marx was a man with a vision. He set out to change the world. He has changed it. But his system is based not on a calm reading of history, not on a sound philosophy, not on proofs, not on facts, not on a study of man as he is. More specifically, his titanic dream with its titanic consequences is not born of a love for the poor and oppressed. Karl Marx did not even know the poor and oppressed. He and his followers have shown themselves quite ready to sacrifice mere individuals by the helpless millions for a utopia which can never be realized because it is too inhuman to last. Admittedly, it can come into being only by a radical change in human nature.

But the man with a vision is too important to dismiss merely because his ideas were wild. He was wrong, but he preached to a world whose bad philosophy, history, economics, sociology and moral outlook had prepared the way for him. The Liberal régime which he attacked was all but defenseless against his forthright fallacies. Its "pig-trough philosophy" could be torn to shreds, and it was torn to shreds. More pathetic still, and more ominous, the Liberal who could not defend himself for lack of logic was actually predisposed to accept a solution for social ills more dynamic than his own, but akin to it by reason of its materialistic spirit. If civilization is to be saved, the man with a vision must be met by a man with a higher vision.

Marx would be less strong, and Marxism less of a menace, if Catholics were not so weak. Historically, the Church has sympathized with the victims of human greed and injustice. She has done more than any other institution to lighten their burdens. She has, in fact, suffered with the poor and at the hands of the same ruthless oppressor. Yet by a strange twist of historical truth the Marxian has labeled her "Bourgeois," and led the masses to hate her. The Church has upheld the only ideal which gives a meaning and right direction to life. Yet hungry souls who have felt the hollowness of the secularist ideal with its rejection of God, religion and a future life open their empty minds to the perverted ideology of Marx. Communism has its strongest appeal precisely among those who need what the Church has to offer.

The steady advance of the enemy should terrify Christians out of their complacent lethargy. But the Marxists supply something more than an incentive to action. In the false glare of their half-truths there is much light. Karl Marx shocked the present age out of its social blindness. Even Leo XIII seems to have learned from him, and the positive teaching of the *Rerum novarum* may not unlikely have been influenced by the *Communist Manifesto*. Certainly, Leo's right solution would have been more effec-

tive had it preceded the wrong solution of nearly half-a-century earlier.

No historian doubts the significance of Karl Marx. And we could wish that all historians would read Francis J. Sheed's *Communism and Man* (Sheed & Ward. \$2.00. 1938.). In this masterly introduction to a problem more important even than our threatened new world war they will find the visionary titan taken apart and analyzed. His debt to Hegelian dialectic, his misreading of history, his vigorous affirmations in support of his utopian vision are portrayed with a sympathetic touch. Over against Marxian "materialism," emotional blasts, unfounded acts of faith, utter disregard for mere men, and an artificially churned-up class hatred he sets the traditional social philosophy of Christianity and the strong but restrained teachings of the recent popes. No Communist can afford to risk his perverted peace of mind by looking squarely at the Church. It will help Catholics and others to understand what Marxism is, and why Marxists love it fanatically. We recommend *Communism and Man*.

Two Rousseauvians

Dr. Eagan writes with one eye on the world's greatest combination of dictators.* In the reflected light of the Communist, Fascist, Nazi one-man rule over one-party states he endeavors to clarify the still vague features of the enigmatic Robespierre and the Jacobin gang that supported his tyranny of "Virtue." Or, if the reader prefers, the process may be reversed, and the completed cycle of the French orgy may be used to render more intelligible the spirit, aims and methods of Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini. There are, to be sure, surface differences. But the essential technique is in every instance very much the same.

If we substitute Lenin for Stalin, and at the same time bear in mind that Soviet disregard for ethical standards and right thinking culminates a long descent toward the slough of idealist materialism, we shall find the parallel with Jacobin dictatorship more enlightening. Robespierre was a pioneer. He had no time for long-range planning. He had to think fast, and he had to do a great deal more talking. Moreover, he was no match for his later imitators in deliberate, satanic ruthlessness. But in his relatively pale despotism one detects most of the elements of our more robust modern systems: a pseudo-philosophy, fanatic determination, party organization, blood purges, spellbinding oratory, manufactured popular opinion, and finally the totalitarian party-state which "can do no wrong."

The author here attempts to reduce Robespierre to a formula. And his "Nationalist Dictator" is about as good a formula as can be found. He does not presume to close the Robespierre controversy. But by copious quotation of the dictator's writings he does throw light on a character much debated by critics. Conservative and royalist historians have generally disagreed only in the degree of their unanimous reprobation. But even among the heirs of the Revolution, where he receives kindlier treatment,

* *Maximilien Robespierre: Nationalist Dictator*, by James Michael Eagan. New York. Columbia University Press. 1938. pp. 242. \$2.75.

Leo XIII and Historical Studies

W. Barby Faherty
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A CURSORY perusal of the *Letter of Leo XIII on History*¹ would profit little. Local and contemporary events preoccupy the pope; an apologetic attitude towards history dominates his writing. But the situation which conditioned the letter must be borne in mind: Italians were attacking the Church, using as their chief weapon falsified history; Pope Leo wished to vindicate the Church by opening the Archives of the Vatican, and enlisting scholars to defend the Church.

These facts, however, need not detract from certain points of perennial value. The letter, furthermore, does not contain all the thoughts of the pontiff on the subject; it must be supplemented by the letter to the Archbishop of Vienna in 1883², and the Encyclical Letter to the French clergy in September, 1899³. In the workable outline given below, which presents the chief teachings of the pope on history, the quotations from these last two documents will be specifically designated; the rest are from the *Letter on History*.

I THE CHURCH AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

"The Church . . . cultivated the study of history"

A Writing

- 1 "The Church from its very beginning cultivated the study of history."
- 2 "East and West beheld the works of men like Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen and others."
- 3 "After the fall of the Roman Empire, for history as for other liberal arts, the only refuge was in the monasteries, the clergy her only cultivators."
- 4 "Among modern writers it will be sufficient to instance . . . Muratori . . . and Angelo Mai."

B Philosophy of History

- 1 "With regard to the philosophy of history, its plan was first conceived and executed by the great doctor of the Church, Augustine."
- 2 "All who have every deserved mention have carefully followed him as their guide and teacher." . . .
- 3 "All who have diverged from the trace of his footsteps, have been separated from the truth by all manner of errors, for they lacked, in their studies of the evolution and phases of social bodies, the knowledge of causes which govern humanity."

II HISTORY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

"A guide of life," "a light of truth"

- 1 "It were to be wished that very many might be animated by a desire of finding out the truth, and draw therefrom instructive lessons."
- 2 "The deeds recorded in history should serve as examples and lessons to posterity. The remembrance of great events is in the highest degree useful and opportune, for the most salutary teaching is to be drawn from it" (Letter to the Archbishop of Vienna).

¹ "Letter of Leo XIII on History," in *Tablet*, Vol. 62 (Sept. 1883), 321.

² Leo XIII, "Letter to the Archbishop of Vienna," in *Tablet*, Vol. 62 (Sept. 1883), 444.

³ Leo XIII, "Encyclical Letter to the French Clergy of September 3, 1899, in *Tablet*, Vol. 94 (Sept. 1899), 498.

3 "History has attractions for the precocious and ardent intellect of youth; the picture offered to it of ancient times, and the images of men whom the narrative invests with renewed life, are eagerly welcomed by the young men, and retained forever deeply engraven in their memories."

III IMPORTANCE OF THE WRITING OF HISTORY (See IV, b)

"So honourable a pursuit as history"

- 1 The writing of historical works and textbooks is "a task . . . of no mean utility, and worthy, therefore, of the highest intellects."
- 2 "Men are needed deeply versed in these studies, who will set themselves to write with the intention and aim of making known the truth in all its fullness and strength."
- 3 "It is therefore of grave importance that so honourable a pursuit as history, should be prevented at any cost from becoming in the future a source of more serious evils to the social order and to individuals."

IV HISTORY AS AN APOLOGETIC

"A magnificent and spontaneous apology for the Church"

A The Study of History

- 1 "The authentic records of History, when considered with a calm mind and free from prejudices are in themselves a magnificent and spontaneous apology for the Church and the Pontificate. In them may be seen the nature and true greatness of Christian institutions."
- 2 History is "the mirror in which the life of the Church shines down the centuries, demonstrating the providential action of God in the march of events" (Letter to French clergy).

B The Writing of History

- 1 "Since her enemies have recourse above all to history for their weapons, the Church must needs be equally armed for the fray, and wherever the attack is most violent, repel the assault with redoubled energy."
- 2 "Men are needed . . . who will ably and learnedly refute the injurious accusations, which have too long accumulated against the Roman Pontiffs."
- 3 "Among the most fitting means of defending religion, there is none, to our Mind more suited to the present age, than the replying to [historical] writings in writing, and the confounding in this fashion the artifices of the enemies of the faith" (Letter to Archbishop).

V PRACTICAL INSTRUCTIONS

"Truth . . . must triumph"

A Scholarly Study

- 1 "Let the simple recital of facts be replaced by the fruits of painful and patient research, judgments rashly made by the outcome of serious study, and frivolous opinions by the criticism of wisdom . . ."
- 2 "Arbitrary opinions must necessarily give way before solid arguments; truth, in spite of persevering opposition, must triumph in the end; it may be darkened for the moment; never can it be extinguished."

B Writing

- 1 "Strenuous efforts should be made to refute all falsehoods and untrue statements by ascending to the fountain heads of information, keeping vividly in mind that the first law of history is to dread uttering falsehood; the next not to fear

stating the truth; lastly, that the historian's writings should be open to no suspicion of partiality or animosity."

VI EVILS OF FALSE HISTORY "the agent of corruption"

A Study

"It is hard, however, to conceive how much harm may be done by the study of history which is devoted to party ends and to the gratification of cupidity of various kinds. For it becomes not the guide of life, nor the light of truth, as the ancients have declared it to be, but the accomplice of vices and the agent of corruption, especially for the young, whose minds it will fill with unsound opinions."

B False Methods

"While the essential constituents of historical facts have been mutilated or skillfully thrust into the shade, they [the false historians] have chosen to pass by in silence deeds memorable and worthy of renown, at the same time devoting themselves with renewed energy to point out and exaggerate every little want of prudence and failure to do right, although the avoidance of all faults, even the least, is beyond the capacity of human nature."

C Teaching

- 1 "What is of greater gravity, is that such a method of treating history has invaded even the schools. Often, indeed, the children have put into their hands for their instruction, manuals thickly sown with falsehoods; and when they become accustomed to these, especially if the perversity or heedlessness of the teacher countenance it, the young students are easily disgusted with venerable antiquity and imbued with a shameless scorn of things and men most holy."
- 2 "On leaving the elementary classes, they are frequently exposed to an even greater danger, for in the higher studies from the narrative of facts they rise to the examination of causes; and from these causes they endeavour to deduce laws issuing in rash theories."

These quotations summarize the teaching of Leo XIII on history. Taken together, they should be the guide, the inspiration, the frame of reference of the Catholic Historian. Incidentally, they should serve as an antidote to the temptation to adopt one or other attractive textbooks which we might name.

Editorial (Continued)

it is only recently that Robespierre has become the idol of Mathiez in opposition to Aulard's "great and good Danton." Mathiez would claim him as an early protagonist of the Socialistic cause and as a champion of the Proletariat against Danton and the Bourgeois Revolution. This claim Dr. Eagan rejects, and we think rightly so. Robespierre is a consistent Nationalist. He identifies himself with his party, and his party with the nation. He would set up the rule of "Virtue" in France and the rule of France throughout a benighted Europe. He is not interested in "Class Conflict" or the rule of the rabble.

* * * * *

In comparison with Robespierre, the "Citizen Director" Revelliére-lépau, plays a minor part in the great Revolution.† All but unknown, he is recalled by the student as one of the corrupt gang that presided over France during

† *Revelliére-lépau, Citizen Director*, by Georgia Robison. New York, Columbia University Press, pp. 307. \$3.50. (N. B. The author justifies her spelling of the name.)

the interlude between the Convention and the Consulate. Also, perhaps, his name is linked with the pitiable fad of Theophilanthropy. But a cursory study of his career reveals merely a milder maniac cast in a lighter rôle. He is unlike Robespierre, but the contrast may be due, after all, more to the times than to anything in the men themselves. In Revelliére-lépau we can study a typical revolutionary mentality undistracted by Mme. Guillotine and the frenzy of the Terror.

Both men were disciples of Rousseau. Both were unconscious hypocrites, self-righteous in their mouthings about the reign of "Virtue." They preached Republican equality and clung to power. They believed in Democracy, but insisted that they alone knew what was good for the sovereign people. Robespierre ruled by emergency decrees; Revelliére found it sufficient to manage elections and interpret the constitution. Like their spiritual sire, both men had ideas and an ideal that place them above their sordid surroundings. Their common Deism is not the least important factor in their politics, and it is the most vital element in their lame philosophy.

Amid the insanity of Jacobin atheism the unstable absurdities of the Pontifex Maximus of the Supreme Being in 1794, and of the "pope of Theophilanthropy" three years later, show a touch of nobility. It was a step in the right direction to "recognize the existence of the Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul." And it was a tribute to religion when two haters of the Catholic Church worked out their half-recovery of repudiated truth. The God of the Deists was, of course, a God who never existed. Befuddled minds and hungry hearts could be fooled for a time. Robespierre (and he was imitated by Revelliére-lépau) uttered sublime sentiments which, detached from their context, may still awaken a healthy echo, but his pageantry and emotional appeal collapsed like a bubble. Allowing for a modicum of sincerity in a few of the fanatics, we see only near-blaspemy in systems that made the Author of Nature a promoter of French national interests.

Emperor Charles V

(Continued)

exploitation; he sought to purge the Church from abuses; in one word the Sun of Empire which rose in glory with Charlemagne set in splendor with Charles V. He was an "average man" called upon to bear the world's burden amidst political convulsion and religious revolution. Compared with Henry VIII and Francis I, Charles rises to moral grandeur. He was "an honorable Christian gentleman," he was loyal to the Catholic Faith, he had a conscience, and he fought for the unity of Christendom. In his long and chequered career good far outweighs evil. Few characters in world history have faced stupendous problems with greater courage, sincerity, and humility, than Charles V.

For further reading:

Edward Armstrong, *The Emperor Charles V*. The classic work in English. Not satisfactory on religious matters.

D. B. Wyndham Lewis, *Charles of Europe*, a brilliant sketch.

R. B. Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire*. A classic treatment of the Spanish Conquest and organization of the New World.

A full bibliography would consume a page. The works cited all contain ample bibliographies.

Americana

Lawrence J. Kenny
St. Louis University

LOVERS of romantic history may be disappointed in this volume.¹ One of their heroes, LaSalle, occupies much of the stage, though his high hat with its waving plume, his tall boots, his deer-skin jacket and his fine bravado begin to look a bit shabby in the strong light of critical research. Scientific historians, on the other hand, will welcome a volume that carries on its every page verifications of its contentions, drawn for the most part from manuscripts that have been obscured by the ballyhoo of LaSalle's press agents and the worse than tendentious monumental compilation of Pierre Margry.

At first blush it might seem unfortunate that the Institute of Jesuit History introduces itself to the world in this negative and devastating critique. On second thought, however, it becomes clear that the field which the Institute has chosen to occupy must be cleared of much rank overgrowth before positive and constructive labor can be effectively initiated.

Half a century ago, careful investigators had arrived at the conclusion that LaSalle was not the discoverer either of the Mississippi or of the Ohio. But this reviewer recalls the discouragement of John Gilmary Shea at the controversy aroused by the partial exposure of false claims. Father Delanglez' volume would seem to close the case. No scholar is likely to reopen it. Great stumps of arguments that distorted the truth have been dynamited, and the field lies open to fruitful cultivation. The high boots and higher enthusiasm of Robert Cavelier may continue to thrill the emotions in the province of fiction.

* * * * *

Herndon, Lincoln's law-partner in Springfield, Illinois, is recognized by all the biographers of the Rail-splitter President—and their name is legion—as an authority of supreme importance in all matters concerning Lincoln's career in Illinois, and of high value also in regard to his Kentucky and Indiana childhood and youth. The present work limits itself to those years, and whoever takes it up is certain to read many pages before he puts it down, for the rapid but smooth flow of the style and the ever recurrent human touches in Herndon's letters are almost fascinating.²

The compiler's contribution, some twenty-six pages, is new, and is mostly a eulogy of Herndon's tireless search for facts, contrasted with the suppression of facts by not a few of the more famous biographers. The contents of the letters are not so new to the student of Lincoln lore. The salient facts have been told time and time again elsewhere; and what is more important, they have been told more truthfully. For instance, Mr. Hertz accepts Herndon's argument that Lincoln was of illegitimate birth, and fails to offer the slightest suggestion that Dr. William Barton,

and others, had traced that suspicion to its source and found it false. If Herndon is praiseworthy for his tireless pick and shovel method of seeking Lincoln facts, how much more reliable are Barton and others who applied the modern steam shovel appliances in the same quest. Thus the compiler does some little hiding of his own. He hides also all of Lincoln's political life, offering as an excuse: "What Mr. Lincoln was after he became President can best be understood by knowing what he was before." Is that true?

* * * * *

The name of Clavigero in the days Prescott and Irving was known and highly honored wherever history was read. Our Mexican War added zest to American interest in him and his *History of Mexico*, of which there are at least two English translations.³ The present volume, the *History of California*, meaning Lower California, is not known, aside from lengthy extracts, to have ever before been Englished, though there were two Spanish versions of the Italian original.

Our translators, working under the careful eye of Herbert Eugene Bolton, have done an excellent work excellently. Their copious notes render the volume doubly valuable to the reader unfamiliar with early Spanish days and ways in the New World. A slip or two occurs in the introduction; for instance, where *Cecil Calvert*, instead of *Leonard*, arrives in Maryland in 1634, and where Blessed Ignatius Azevedo and his companions meet death at the hands of the Indians instead of at the hands of Dutch pirates. But these things are merely as spots on the sun. All lovers of American history and members of the Society of Jesus in particular ought to be grateful to those who have popularized so rare a volume.

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Sister Blanche shoots straight. She tells in the very first lines what she intends to explore (we might have said explode), and what she intends to avoid in her study of the Mexican War.⁴ After the Introduction, her chapters are entitled: "Attitude of the Catholic Press"; "The Activity of Bishop Hughes, 1846-1848"; "Catholic Chaplains"; "the San Patricio Battalion"; "Catholics in the American Army"; and "Attitude of the Government and the Army towards the Catholic Religion." There follow six appendices, a good bibliography and a fine index.

The sketches of the Catholic officers are perfect cameos; the account of the San Patricio Battalion demonstrates the writer's impartiality. She does not maintain, as some might seem to do, that no Catholic or Irish soldier ever deserted. We were hoping in vain that when writing of Father Rey, the chaplain, she might solve the mystery as to the identity of the young lieutenant who was killed in Mexico and was attended in his dying moments by that Father, and who appeared to his non-Catholic mother, the widow of a General, in New York, exclaiming to her "I die a Catholic." The account is in the *Ave Maria*, XX (July 12, 1884), 555.

³ *The History of (Lower) California*, by Don Francisco Javier Clavigero, S. J., translated from the Italian and edited by Sara E. Lake and A. A. Gray. Stanford University Press. 1937. pp. xxvii and 413. \$4.50.

⁴ *American Catholics in the War with Mexico*, by Sister Blanche Marie McEniry. Catholic University Dissertation. 1937. pp. xi + 178.

¹ *Some LaSalle Journeys*, by Jean Delanglez, S. J. Chicago. Institute of Jesuit History. 1938. pp. vi and 103. \$1.75 to libraries and instructors.

² *The Hidden Lincoln*. From the Letters and Papers of William H. Herndon, by Emanuel Hertz. The Viking Press. New York. 1938. pp. x and 461. \$5.00.

Nativism in Connecticut is a doctor's dissertation, and a very thorough piece of work.⁵ The book is far more than its title promises; among other aspects, it far outreaches its self-imposed limits of time and space. Instead of beginning at 1829, the reader will travel one-third of the pages before he reaches that date; and instead of bounding his vision to the narrow confines of one state, the whole of New England and at times the entire nation will be clearly presented to his view. Yet this is no defect; for it seems a necessary introduction for an understanding of the times and an equally needed spacial scope for a comprehension of the power of the Nativist movement. The title is well-chosen.

The field has been ploughed often and deeply before, as the almost too copious notes admit, but it may be questioned whether ever before with so truly a scientific method. Was it worth so much and such precious brain power? Dr. Noonan in its production has shown himself an accomplished historian. If he will now bestow such exquisite attention on some historical problem worthy of his ability, this labor will have been justified.

* * * * *

Documents: *Diaries and Letters*, printed in the original German in clear Roman type, with an almost literal English translation on each opposite page, tell in most minute detail the story of the Siege of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1780.⁶ The Board of Regents of the University of Michigan have enhanced the worth of their History and Political Science series by the addition of this their thirteenth volume. No one may henceforth write of the Revolutionary days of romantic Charleston, or with any fullness of the War for American Independence without using this volume. The documents present no strikingly new facts, but among other advantages, they introduce us to a very human and kindly group of fellow-men who in no way resemble the "hateful Hessians" of so many school books. This critic was disappointed in finding no suggestion of the religious mind of these writers. It is known that there were many Catholics among the Hessian troops, that two priests came with them to America, as chaplains! But if there were any Catholics in the Charleston expedition there is no word in these writings to indicate it. Perhaps other portions of the von Jungkenn Papers may prove more revealing in this matter of our special interest.

* * * * *

For nearly two hundred years Brooklyn had been in swaddling clothes, mostly warm Dutch clothes, when this story begins.⁷ It was still a village in 1816, but in less than two decades it passed through a transitional stage of such interest that the period is here studied with microscope and scalpel. Everything, exterior and interior, is exposed to the gaze of the curious, except perhaps the mice and mosquitoes, and happily too the vice. It is to be

⁵ *Nativism in Connecticut, 1829-1860*, by Carroll John Noonan. Catholic University of America. 1938. pp. vi + 352.

⁶ *The Siege of Charleston. With an Account of the Province of South Carolina: Diaries and Letters of Hessian Officers from the von Jungkenn Papers in the William L. Clements Library*. Translated and edited by Bernhard A. Uhendorf. Ann Arbor. University of Michigan Press. 1938. xii + 448 pp. \$4.00.

⁷ *Brooklyn Village, 1816-1834*, by Ralph Foster Weld. Columbia University Press. New York. 1938. pp. xix and 362. \$3.50.

hoped that personal isolation and not association with any unworthy group of Catholics accounts for the author's unfailing contemptuous references to the early Brooklyn children of the faith, an unjust contempt, objectively speaking, and very derogatory to the standing as an historian of this otherwise decent and careful writer. The sixty pages of notes in fine print are almost as rich in information as the fluent text.

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The literature and material concerning federal-state cooperation is so voluminous that the present volume aims to select pertinent, if not the most important, illustrations of the legal arrangements of the relationship between the Federal and State governments.⁸ This aim has been abundantly achieved.

Recalling the American Union of the days of Washington Irving, for instance, who thought the Rocky Mountains twenty-five thousand feet high and with everyone else believed in the Great American Desert, the days when the most convenient route from New York to California was by way of the Straits of Magellan, and contrasting that period with today when a flyer can take his breakfast in Manhattan and his dinner at the Golden Gate, we realize that our nation has become a solid unity. It is a remarkable fact that in the process the Federal government has not absorbed the states, nor reduced them to the position of the countries of early days. The present volume demonstrates not a creation but the evolution of a New Federalism conformed to the new environment.

* * * * *

Mgr. Day's recent volume is a welcome historical document that tells, down to the most minute details, how the Cathedral of Diocese of Helena was brought into being.⁹ It then serves as a guide book, offering illustrations and explanations of the stained glass windows and of the outdoor statuary of the building. Book One, the account of the building of the cathedral, concludes with an elaborate narration of the Consecration ceremonies, June 3, 1924. There is not a word, consequently, of the cathedral's escape from the thirteen hundred earthquakes that visited Helena between October and December, 1935.

The explanations of the windows—46 of them—is a good review of the history of all time. The 35th window, for instance, shows Leif Ericson in the Quatrefoil and the Landing of Columbus in the central panel. The 36th, the Window of Christian Democracy, displays Bishop Von Ketteler in the Quatrefoil, Leo XIII in the central panel, with Cardinal Gibbons on his right and Cardinal Manning on the left. The outside statues represent Sts. Jerome, Augustine, and Thomas; St. Paul and Father Damien; St. Joan of Arc; Constantine and St. Helena; Charlemagne; Gutenberg, Copernicus, Magellan, Vesalius, Steno, Ampère, Pasteur, Mendel, Marconi, Dante, Bramante, Michelangelo, Vittoria, Raphael, Palestrina, Bossuet, Father DeSmet, Cardinal Mercier. This book is not a history; it is history.

⁸ *The Rise of a New Federalism: Federal-State Cooperation in the United States*, by Jane Perry Clark. Columbia University Press. New York. 1938. xviii + 347 pp. \$3.50.

⁹ *The Cathedral of St. Helena*, by Rt. Rev. Victor Day. Standard Publishing Company. Helena, Montana. 1938. pp. vi + 182.

Jottings

THE number of text books is growing fast, and their quality is improving. But the alert teacher of history will find none of them perfect, and few of them satisfactory. And this holds for the college, the high school and the grade school level. The difficulty would seem to be inherent in the subject itself. Macaulay has some enlightening remarks on the perfection of literary works and of works of science in which it would be hard, he says, to change a word for the better. The perfect history he considered beyond the reach of man. The challenge should beget, not discouragement and despair, but devotion to an ideal worth striving for. It also suggests the conclusion that, since history embraces the whole of human endeavor, the historian as writer or teacher should possess most of the qualifications distributed among his colleagues or rivals in other fields. On the other hand, it is probably as easy to be a mediocre historian as it is to be mediocre in anything else. We can still plod along hopefully, and humbly.

We began this review editorial with the intention of recommending (with reservations) *A Survey of Civilization*, by Sheppard and Godfrey (two volumes, \$1.00 and \$1.20; Longmans, 1937). The work is a cross between a syllabus and a history text. It may be an answer to a teacher's prayer. The teacher who has at hand the requisite library facilities, and possesses the ability and energy to direct its use, should get excellent results. We are thinking of the trained historian in a small college with a big library. Against the authors we have no serious complaint. But we have visions of helpless Freshmen and Sophomores floundering about among the tomes of Frazer, Barnes, Breasted and other learned guessers in the various 'ologies. Students should get the history of "Civilization," but the sources of its earlier stages are still too laden with poison. There is more wholesome reading in later periods. A way around our major difficulty would be to devote half-a-semester to Volume I of the *Survey*, and the remainder of a two-semester course to Volume II, thus setting the chronological divide about 1600 instead of 1300.

Teachers should be acquainted with the "Students' Outline Series" for Medieval and Modern History (Longmans, 1933; three volumes, 75 cents each).

The Totalitarian State

"The salient features of the totalitarian state," writes Edward Quinn (*Downside Review*, July, 1936) "consist in a mystic nationalism amongst a people who accept the personal authority of a single leader, a glorification of force—especially to gain national ends—and an attempt to enslave religion under the authority of the nation-state. Ross Hoffman agrees with this description, though he attributes more importance to Communism as being more logical than Fascism, the latter being largely a new and incoherent form of Romanticism. 'The Russian Revolution was the Marxist word made flesh, but before 1922 there was no Fascist word to be made flesh.' In this 'lies the real menace of Fascism . . . it may issue into almost any madness at all, as it has in the myths of

racialism and the whole of that mad heresy whose expressive symbol is the crooked cross.'

"The principles which govern the relations of Church and State are three: There is a real distinction between the societies each of which is perfect within its own limits. There should be agreement between them, since both are directed towards the one ultimate end, the Church, however, more immediately than the State. Lastly, there is the principle of subordination. In the event of disagreement, the higher society—the Church—has the right to prevail. From this is deduced the indirect power of the Church in temporal matters. It is precisely this principle which has caused and still causes most of the troubles which arise between Church and State. Yet it is self-evident when it is borne in mind that the Church is the supreme guardian of morality and must have the right to intervene in the activities of the state, when there is question of sin, 'sub specie peccati'."

The Crisis Today

" . . . we have to contend with a state which divorces both politics and economics from ethics and philosophy. Or rather, in the 19th century, 'politics was widowed by the death of philosophy.' Today we are so far from having a common philosophy and morality 'that our society is actually threatened with spiritual and moral dissolution. That is the essence of the modern social crisis'! It is further a state which, in pursuit of national aggrandizement, demands an iron discipline and a complete submission. 'The Nazi Party lays a totalitarian claim to the soul of the German people,' said Dr. Ley, last summer, 'we demand the last German; whether Protestant or Catholic is all one to us.' That claim it enforces with the most terrible weapons, and those who dispute it must be prepared for nothing less than martyrdom."

Chauvinistic Textbooks

Since the close of the Great War a good deal has been heard about the chauvinistic tendencies of historical textbooks, and several attempts at rectification have been made. In 1925 the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations established an official procedure for making and receiving complaints on this subject, but little was done. Then the International Conference on Teaching History (at the Hague in 1932, and as Basel in 1934) interested itself in the matter only to see its *Bulletin* disappear after two issues. Next, through German initiative, after an exchange of critiques of many historical textbooks, there met at Paris in November, 1935, a group of German and French historians. After a postponement (due to the German reoccupation of the Rhineland in March, 1936), the resolutions finally appeared on May 15, 1937, in a number of important French periodicals. Only one German publication, however, carried them, and this publication a month later denied that the German members of the Committee had authority to make a binding engagement. And so, in spite of initial good-will the attempt proved abortive. (Cf. Bernadotte Schmitt, " 'War Guilt' in France and Germany," *American Historical Review*, XLIII [Jan., 1938], 321-341.)

Meanwhile, at the Seventh International Conference of American States on the teaching of history, held at

Montevideo on December 16, 1933, the participating governments agreed to revise the textbooks so as to promote political and commercial harmony; secondly, to found an "Institute for the teaching of History" at Buenos Aires, which should strive to realize the following objectives: a) that each Republic foster an understanding of the others; b) that the nations exclude unfriendly references to other countries, or errors already proved false; c) that the bellicose emphasis be lessened, and that each country's civilization and culture be studied; d) that the accounts of war be shorn of hatred; e) that whatever contributes constructively to understanding and cooperation among American Countries be emphasized. (Cf. "Notes and Comment," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, May, 1936.)

Making History Interesting

THAT every speaker who appears before a group is desirous and anxious to have the *attention* of that group, may be set down as a kind of universal and axiomatic truth. The exemplification of this principle is seen everywhere—from the vociferous vendor of an all-curing brand of snake oil in the public square to the most dignified pulpit orator in the country's largest cathedral.

Therefore it is not at all surprising that the vendors of high school history, in their own domain, should also be desirous of getting the attention of their audiences. Indeed, sad and disconcerting past experience may have convinced many history teachers that *attention* is the one classroom quality that they need most! For on more than one occasion a Johnny Indolence may have been observed getting an excellent education through the classroom window—in fresh-air gazing! Or pairs like Suzzie Silly and Dorothy Dumb may have attracted the teacher's attention through their own persistent inattention. Such pairs seem wedded to the opinion that smiling and giggling, in typical tooth-paste fashion, offers the most available antidote to the inconvenience of sitting out a morning history period.

Reactions on the part of the teacher to such situations are likely to be varied. He (or she) may endeavor to draw the inattentive charges to a sense of their responsibility by a discourse on the goodness of high school students of yesteryear; or he may enlarge on his academic degrees—obtained just for their sake—and the insulting appreciation he receives; or, more prosaically, he may simply come to despair and despise. Such procedures are neither the stop-gap nor the cure for the disease. What the crisis really calls for is an honest cross-examination and a little calm reflection on the psychological factors that make for attention and their practical application to the history class.

The wise and efficient history teacher is not the one who never makes mistakes, but the one who, realizing his defects, is on the alert to prevent their repetition. Such a one, we are persuaded, will not find it altogether unprofitable to take a glimpse at the elements which must be taken into consideration in making the history period one of interest. [The reader may now turn to W. Patrick Donnelly's "Making History Interesting," of which article this was the original introduction (*Historical Bulletin*, November, 1937.)]

Of the four Revolutions that have resulted in the world in which we live, the first was religious, the second intellectual, the third political and the last economic. They have corresponded, roughly, to four fundamental and distinguishable appetites of human nature: the cravings of the soul for Peace, of the mind for Light, of the will for Justice, of the body for material Comfort. Taken together, Luther, Montaigne, Robespierre and Marx fought, or at least felt they were fighting, for all that we men most want—a Faith, a Philosophy, a measure of Freedom and Food.—Gerald G. Walsh.

Until either the philosophers are the rulers or the men who are now called kings and potentates become genuine and adequate philosophers, there can be no respite from evil for the states, nor, I think, for the whole human race.—Plato, *Republic*.

"The pure fact is of no value to anybody, for it is only when it is brought into relation to some intelligible principle of order that the pure fact becomes an historical fact at all." Even without the authority of Christopher Dawson we readily accept this dictum. History is not merely what happened in the past; it is what mattered. Dawson would relate his facts to the great world order, and rightly so. Others will be content to find some connection, parallel, or contrast, between their historical facts and current problems. This is also to be commended. And the rush of events around us affords many opportunities.

"History may have no lessons to teach [!], it may not repeat itself, but surely it offers the teacher who is willing to be in tune with his age a splendid opportunity to train students to enter a world made up of question marks and exclamation points."—H. A. Hansen, in *Social Studies* (October, 1935), 371.

"The text book is not the course of study, it is an arsenal. It is not a master, it is a tool."

Mommsen's History

(Continued)

tions. Hence that man would be a real benefactor to Rome and to its subject states who, with sufficient courage, foresight, and strength would crush the aristocratic government and unite all powers in himself as dictator. For it is Mommsen's own political creed that "when a government cannot govern, it ceases to be legitimate, and whoever has the power has also the right to overthrow it" (V, 2).

Viewed in this light, the recriminations hurled against senatorial rule from 168 to 70 B. C. are fraught with peculiar significance. Speaking of the ruinous condition of Italian agriculture because of cheap grain imports, Mommsen declares that "nothing perhaps evinces as clearly as this, how wretched was the constitution and how incapable was the administration of this so-called golden age of the republic. . . . Any government that deserved the name would . . . have interfered . . .; but the ship drove on unhindered towards the breakers" (III, 12). Again, of conditions at the time of the Gracchi: "Wherever we turn our eyes, we find the internal energy

as well as the external power of Rome rapidly on the decline" (IV, 1). The unhappy provinces in particular were given over to every sort of misrule, injustice, and rapine. "These client states of Rome had neither independence nor peace. . . . [Their] state resembled that of a schoolroom when the teacher is absent . . . ; the government of Rome deprived the nations at once of the blessings of freedom and of the blessings of order" (IV, 1). Internal government of the same period is thus characterized: "If we understand by internal government more than the transaction of current business, there was at this period no government in Rome at all" (IV, 2). Bitterest denunciation of all, however, is reserved for the rule of the so-called Restoration government after the murder of Gaius Gracchus.

It sat on the vacated throne with an evil conscience and divided hopes, indignant at the institutions of the state which it ruled and yet incapable of even systematically assailing them, vacillating in all its conduct except where its own material advantage prompted a decision, a picture of faithlessness towards its own as well as the opposite party, of inward inconsistency, of the most pitiful impotence, of the meanest selfishness—an unsurpassed ideal of misrule (IV, 4).

The cumulative effect of these passages unquestionably demonstrates that (in Mommsen's judgment, at any rate,) the Rome of 100 B. C. was ready and waiting for some type of imperialistic government. Mommsen can see no hope for a rejuvenation of the old republic on new democratic bases; for of Gaius Gracchus—whom he considered a statesman of true genius, a "marvelous political constellation"—he writes with approval: ". . . he wished to abolish [the republican form of government] and to introduce in its stead a Tyrannis—that is, . . . a monarchy . . . of the Napoleonic, absolute, type" (IV, 3). And such a monarchy was, as Mommsen views the case, an inevitable consequence of the given political conditions in Rome at the time. "If Gracchus . . . aimed at the overthrow of the government of the senate, what other political organization but the Tyrannis remained possible . . . in a commonwealth . . . which had no knowledge of parliamentary government?" (*ibid.*). Not that Mommsen's personal feelings would lead him to choose deliberately a government of the absolute monarchic type; with him it is simply a question of making the best of a bad case. "An absolute monarchy is a great misfortune for a nation, but it is a lesser misfortune than an absolute oligarchy; and history cannot censure one who imposes on a nation the lesser suffering instead of the greater . . ." (*ibid.*).

I have thought this somewhat lengthy digression necessary to bring clearly into view a dominating conviction of the entire *History*. Mommsen's account of the third period of Roman republicanism, extending from the death of Sulla to the Battle of Thapsus, hinges directly on principles established in treating the second division. As Mommsen conceives the development of Roman imperialism, there is a direct political tradition reaching from Gaius Gracchus to Gaius Julius Caesar. Concerning the constitutional reforms introduced by Gracchus, Mommsen remarks that "there is scarce a fruitful idea in Roman monarchy, which is not traceable to Gaius Gracchus" (IV, 3). Gracchus brought together in his new constitution all the elements of absolutism which Caesar finally converted into actual monarchy; it was only his great

failure to secure along with the new constitution the new military resources requisite for protecting the dictator that postponed the establishment of a principate by more than half a century. At something of a mid-point between Gracchus and Caesar looms the figure of yet another Gaius, Marius: a man commonplace in character and abilities, notorious rather than famous in most of the events of his public life, and yet one highly significant in the march towards imperialism because it was he who forged the sword of martial power which the future dictator would have to wield. By introducing into the Roman military system free enlistment for any class of the populace at increased pay, and by attaching the legions to their immediate leader instead of to the state through personal gifts and promises of a share in the booty, Marius added to the constitutional authority already secured by Gracchus a powerful militia ready to execute unquestionably its commander's every behest. In Mommsen's own phrase, "the new eagle which Gaius Marius bestowed on the legions proclaimed the advent of the Emperors" (IV, 6).

Why then, with all the elements ready to hand, was not the principate established at once? "They had now," writes Mommsen, "the standing army, the soldier class, the body-guard; as in the civil constitution, so also in the military, all the pillars of the future monarchy were already in existence: the monarch alone was wanting" (*ibid.*). And so the death throes of Roman republicanism and the actual constitution of an absolute monarchy become for Mommsen simply the record of the life and achievements of a single man, Gaius Julius Caesar. As the final efforts of a rotten oligarchy to retain its power Mommsen pictures the aggressive restoration under Lucius Sulla (who was really a dictator in his own right, but committed by birth and temperament to uphold the patrician cause), and the futile defense measures of Pompeius Magnus. Roman republicanism had quite spent its energies.

There was in the world, as Caesar found it, much of the noble heritage of past centuries and an infinite abundance of pomp and glory, but little spirit, still less taste, and least of all true delight in life. It was indeed an old world; and even the richly-gifted patriotism of Caesar could not make it young again (V, 12).

It is certainly true that Mommsen's account of this third period in Roman history, while not more profound nor generally more brilliant than the preceding treatises, has a captivating interest by reason of the noteworthy persons and events herein touched upon and the historian's own burning enthusiasm for the character of Caesar. Mommsen prefaces his third Book, the account of Rome's external conflicts with Carthage and other foreign powers, with the words of Sallust, "Arduum res gestas scribere;" but in relating the more complicated events of the civil wars, he seems to find in every happening an occasion for swift, sparkling narrative. For him, Caesar's career is not merely the end of the whole tale: it is in fact its very goal.

Such is the scope and general nature of Mommsen's *History of Rome*. It is a plan conceived as a unit by the intuitive insight of genius and carried through to completion with a fullness and breadth that compels our admiration. Whatever advances classical scholarship may make in the future, Mommsen's monumental work will never be entirely superseded.

Book Reviews

Europe and the French Imperium, 1799-1814, by Geoffrey Bruun. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1938. pp. 280. \$2.90.

If the reader is tempted to gasp at the appearance of another book on Napoleon, he may recover his composure when he reflects that *The Rise of Modern Europe* would be incomplete without this volume. *Europe and the French Imperium* is number thirteen in this series of monographs which covers a period of seven hundred years. None of these monographs is perfect, but so far each of them is a good investment for any librarian. A standing order for the whole series would scarcely bring regrets. Each volume contains a good selection of illustrations and a bibliographical essay which the student can use with profit.

For Professor Brunn General Bonaparte is an inspired administrator, the best-documented figure in history, and not the mythical Man of Destiny of the Napoleonic Legend. But the chief interest of the author lies not so much in Caesar as in Caesarism. The Empire he regards as an anomaly which had to give way to revived national states and the "balance of power." But when the Corsican upstart destroyed Jacobin "liberty" he was really fulfilling the dreams of the *Philosophes*, who for all their incitements to revolution, clung to the ideal of "reason enthroned" in the philosopher-prince. And the people themselves were quite ready to sacrifice their precarious "democracy" for the promise of stable government. "Soldiers, speculators, emancipated peasants, purchasers of national [and Church] lands, regicides" and French patriots generally applauded the achievements of the First Consul. After the agony of the Revolution France was glad to throw herself into the arms of a strong man. In 1804, "the government of the Republic [!] was confided to an Emperor."

But the peace, security and efficient government of the Consulate was but a prelude to imperial conquest, and eventual disaster. It is in the Empire that Professor Brunn, with a bow to Albert Sorel, finds his main theme. Here, he is an interpreter, rather than a mere retailer of known facts. His Napoleon offers little to console the economic determinists, and rightly so. We could wish, however, for more light on the part played by international finance in the ultimate defeat of the soldier-statesman who lost no love on financiers.

Now and then the author's generalizations call for a question mark. We do not agree, for instance, with the statement that Napoleon "outmatched the Vatican in diplomacy"—except, perhaps, insofar as diplomacy is a synonym for duplicity. On the whole the relations between the Emperor and the Pope should have been given more space.

R. CORRIGAN.

The Roots of American Civilization, A History of American Colonial Life, by Curtis P. Nettels. Crofts and Co. New York. 1938. pp. xx + 748. \$4.00.

This volume of Dr. Nettels is a distinct contribution to the Crofts American History Series. We are served a fresh interpretation of colonial history but not altogether new. Through the various strands of colonial history—economic, social, political and religious—the author weaves his main thesis, the emergence and definition of social classes. The author makes no pretense of concealing the obvious fact that he has written this history with an eye on the present scene. Social and economic factors which still survive in our economic set-up attract the author's attention and thus gain proportionately more emphasis than in any other one-volume history of the English colonies. What we have formerly been taught to consider high-points in colonial history are overshadowed by this emphasis on economic conflict. Yet references to political and religious aspirations help restore the balance. Since the colonies are considered for the most part as small business enterprises, the repeated use of such terms as privileged and unprivileged, upper and lower, aristocratic and democratic, mass and class are not out of place.

In tracing American economic origins, the volume transplants us to the epochs of the Reformation and of the English Revolutions, and then to the stratified social structure of colonial society. The infant stages of American capitalism are found in the plantation economy, in the progress of industry and in the problem of surplus capital. These chapters are particularly good. But we are disappointed to find the Wisconsin professor following the Parkman, Osgood *et al.* tradition with regard to the Jesuit missions in America. In stating that the French used the Jesuit Sebastian Râle to influence the Indians against the English (p. 573) and that by 1721 the Jesuits "were now primarily political agents of France" (p. 575) he perpetuates a calumny. Such passages do not manifest antipathy on the author's part, but

indicate that he has not always used the best authorities. But for the most part the sources are well chosen. The bibliographical notes, containing very helpful references to both primary and secondary source materials, are placed at the end of each chapter where they belong. The fifty-six maps and illustrations enliven the text, and the index is very complete.

GEORGE MCHUGH.

The Daughters of Dominic on Long Island, by Eugene J. Crawford. Benziger Brothers. New York. 1938. pp. xviii + 376. \$3.50.

The eighty-fifth anniversary of the Brooklyn foundation of the Dominican Sisters is the occasion of this detailed community history. With a rather vague idea of what he wanted them to do, Dom Wimmer, a Benedictine of Pennsylvania, invited the cloistered nuns of Ratisbon, Germany, to send missionaries to America in 1853. For some unaccountable reason, the four religious who answered the call found themselves stranded on a dock in New York City when the steamer deposited its passengers. Within a week, however, Father Raffeiner of Brooklyn had them settled in his parish, and there the pioneer nuns sowed the seed of a prolific bay tree. The Congregation of the Holy Cross, the seminal foundation, now numbers 1,104 members, engaged in college, secondary, and elementary education, in hospital work and child welfare activity in the Archdiocese of New York, with a flourishing missionary unit in Porto Rico. The ten congregations which have branched from the original Brooklyn foundation show a total of 4,746 religious women, working over a territory ranging from coast to coast.

The book is of inestimable value to the members of the related communities and their many friends. It has some importance for the student of the history of the Catholic Church in America, for it is another witness to the remarkable growth of religious education in this country. For the ordinary reader, however, it holds little interest, as it is heavy with detail and encyclopedic: a feature which enhances its worth for the family circle of which it treats, but one that makes it ponderous for the uninitiated. The author could have organized his materials better and avoided the pitfalls of needless repetition and anticipatory explanation. The arrangement of references at the end of the volume according to chapters is extremely inconvenient. The book shows meticulous research and provides four pages of bibliographical material. There is a comprehensive index and an excellent foreword by Bishop Molloy.

SR. M. PURISSIMA.

Government in Rural America, by Lane W. Lancaster. New York. D. Van Nostrand Company. 1937.

It is strangely true that, in the midst of ever-increasing technological wonders which have made our larger cities the envy of the world, the thoughts of many are turning away from a mechanized milieu, and are centering around the land and a simpler mode of life. People, fearful lest tomorrow find them unemployed and without resources, no longer look with scorn on the dwellers in the hinterlands. Indeed, the good green acres there, wisely cultivated, yield the necessities for sustenance, insure responsibility, guarantee liberty, and are conducive to a wholesome independence consonant with the nature of man. Yet, remembering that the tone of American life is set by urban trends, and mindful of the truism that a proper balance between country and town must be kept if any nation is to prosper, the forces at work in America to sell out the farmer to other groups should give us pause. Moreover, if local units cannot function properly and are unable to solve their problems without constant recourse to a centralized seat of authority, sooner or later democracy will cease to be our form of government.

In view, therefore, of the troubled state of the American scene, the appearance of this book is timely. An analysis of the various phases of rural government, including the legal aspects, financial administration, police and justice, highways, education, public health and welfare, it is also an honest exposé of the difficulties that face the rural country, village and township, desirous of retaining old characteristics in a setting predominantly urban and antagonistic to tradition. At present it seems to be a losing battle. Quick transportation has brought the city and town into close contact; so close that absorption of the latter is likely. Whether or not decentralization on a large scale should be undertaken to preserve a heritage now threatened, or whether the complete urbanization of the farmer should be permitted, will be debated by sociologists who weigh carefully the findings of Professor Lancaster. Other questions relating to the social order will arise from a perusal of this meticulously edited and well-documented

treatise. That "there may be some reason to expect the creation of an attractive village civilization in the country to take the place of the rather shabby thing which we now have" is an example of warranted optimism. It is warranted because the homestead development of recent origin in Granger, Iowa, heralds the return of a sane outlook that acknowledges progress and yet holds to the land as indispensable. It is a via media through part-time farming in conjunction with industry.

EUGENE H. MURRAY.

The Journal of Jean Cavelier, The Account of a Survivor of La Salle's Texas Expedition, 1684-1688, by Jean Delanglez. Institute of Jesuit History Publication. Chicago. 1938.

The second publication of the Institute of Jesuit History is a worthy companion of its predecessor, *Some La Salle Journeys* by the same author, Father Jean Delanglez, S. J. From every viewpoint the present work is a valuable one. The technique of its author, the contribution to Mississippi Valley history, the very format of the book, all indicate that the Institute of Jesuit History is to be an important factor in American historical research.

The Journal of Father Jean Cavelier, brother of the famous La Salle and his companion on the ill-starred last exploration, is in itself a contribution of note. For the first time the Journal appears in its complete form. Shea has already published an incomplete copy of the Journal which was given him by Parkman, who purchased the manuscript in 1845. In its present form we have at last the complete Journal, in itself most interesting and enlightening. We discover the same erratic, temperamental, suspicious character in either brother. Cavelier writes well, but always with a jaundiced eye, and with a challenge to any who might be inclined to differ in opinion from himself. He praises his brother, of course, and defends him. But the part Cavelier took in the expedition is by no means neglected. The complete Journal will go far to clear up many obscure incidents concerning the actual facts of its collapse.

Because Father Delanglez is a master in his field, the publication of the Journal itself is merely incidental. It is his consummate skill in handling his manuscript which is the true contribution. In fact, his thirty-five pages of introduction and his thirty-nine pages of notes are, perhaps, more important than the new complete manuscript. The editor's study of the whole controversy of the various Journals of the Texas Expedition is most important. The matter is finally and definitely settled. Joutel and Father Anastasius have at last been vindicated, while Le Clercq with his whole confusing jumble of fact and fancy, is at last, by competent scholarship, cleared up satisfactorily.

Father Delanglez, almost incidentally as it were, has given to La Salle students invaluable help in understanding the man, by his fearless honesty in dealing with Jean Cavelier, a none too admirable character. Much of La Salle's trouble can be laid to the door of his grasping brother whose greed led to financial distress for the Sieur de La Salle. *The Jesuit Institute of History* may well be proud of this publication.

JOSEPH P. DONNELLY.

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association. Report 1936-1937. [Ottawa, 1938]. 91 + 38 pp.

The latest report of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association furnishes further evidence of the persevering energy of our fellow historical workers north of the international boundary. Founded at Toronto in 1933, the Association is, as Dr. James F. Kenney, Secretary of the English-speaking Section points out in the present report, ". . . the only Catholic Society in Canada, devoted to learning, which is national in scope."

The Report for 1936-1937, like its predecessors, is divided into two parts, the first devoted to the English, and the second to the French, Sections of the Association. The bulk of the present number comprises eight papers—five in English and three in French—presented at the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Association held at Toronto in October, 1937.

Most interesting of the papers for American scholars is that by Father Léon Pouliot, S. J., Professor of History at the Scolasticat L'Immaculée-Conception, Montreal, on "Le Père Nicholas Point (1799-1868), Collaborateur du P. De Smet dans les Montagnes Rocheuses et Missionnaire en Ontario." Father Pouliot has relied upon Leveillé's *Le P. De Smet* for many factual details of the Rocky Mountain missions, but he has also drawn much from the precious manuscript collection of Point material in the Archives of Saint Mary's College, Montreal.

THOMAS F. O'CONNOR.

Saint Albertus Magnus, translated by the Fathers of St. Albertus College. Saint Catherine's Press. Racine, Wis. 1938. pp. 62. \$1.00.

This book is not intended to be a biography of this great personality; it is rather a series of short essays, by various Dominican fathers, on the characteristics of the saint; typical titles are, "Albertus Magnus, the Author," and "Albertus Magnus, Bishop of Ratisbon." The many-sided character of the man is brought out, his scholarship as well as his administrative capacities, his zeal as well as his life of contemplation. Preachers should find herein excellent ready-made sermons on the life of St. Albert.

W. B. FAHERTY.

The Gateway to History, by Allan Nevins. D. C. Heath and Co. Boston. 1938. pp. vii + 402. \$3.00.

Bowing graciously in *The Gateway to History* is Allan Nevins. Volunteering to introduce the curious visitor to a variegated domain, he endeavors "to bring out certain of the richer meanings of history, to explain in some detail its objects and difficulties, . . . to make clear its proper standards; . . . to illustrate its wonderful variety, and to show how engrossing its pursuit may be made."

His pages glow with enthusiasm. To express his own enthusiasm and to arouse that of the reader he releases a sparkling flow of excellent language. His book illustrates the truth that the literary and the scientific can be successfully combined. Although "scholarliness and thoroughness are high ideals," it must be granted that "scholarliness combined with literary skill constitutes an ideal far higher." Nevins shrewdly observes that "Realities are seldom dull; they seem so simply because some writers bring a dull mind and heart to them."

His enthusiasm and literary flourishes do not in general carry him away from that somewhat prosaic region known as the region of common-sense. He does deviate, however, when he burns vigil lights before the altar of "The Age of Enlightenment." His worship of a Rationalism which has no use for the teaching authority of a divinely established Church causes him to make ridiculous statements in his discussion of the Sacred Scriptures. Through the whole book rumbles the steady thunder of opposition to the supernatural. God is all right so long as He is far away; but do not reveal your stupidity by talking about Providence in history!

It is unfortunate that this *Gateway*, ornamented by generally dependable factual data and criticism of books, by concrete examples, by humorous anecdotes, by common-sense observation, and by enthusiastic literary portrayal, should be marred by a silly reverence for "The Age of Enlightenment" and an equally silly irreverence for the supernatural and tradition. To ignorance and not to prejudice we shall charitably ascribe the writer's omission of a number of Catholic books and authors. Allan Nevins' *Gateway to History* may be safely placed in the hands of one who has been trained in sound philosophy. H. J. McAULIFFE.

History of England (revised edition), by W. E. Lunt. Harper & Brothers. N. Y. 1938. pp. xvi + 920.

Mr. Lunt's *History of England* has already been accepted as a standard text. In this revised edition, which takes the reader up to the present year, he gives further evidence of his careful scholarship and wide teaching experience. Since the text is designed primarily for American students the less well known periods have been treated at some length. The whole book is very well arranged and well balanced. Appended to the text is a critical list of suggested readings and a valuable index. The student who knows this text will know a good deal of English history.

Another book designed for American students is the well-written *History of England and the British Empire*, by Hall and Albion (Ginn and Company. pp. vi and 988. \$4.60.). The social and literary phases of English history are emphasized more than in most textbooks. The main emphasis, however, is on modern history; less than one-fourth of the text is devoted to Anglo-Saxon and Medieval England. The index and suggested readings are valuable to the student.

WILLIAM C. GRUMMEL.

From Many Centuries; a Collection of Historical Papers, by Francis S. Betten. New York. P. J. Kennedy & Sons. 1938. pp. xi and 326. \$1.00.

THE HISTORICAL BULLETIN owes a great deal to Father Betten. Throughout its sixteen years he has taken a paternal interest in its growth. During the critical years, from 1926 to 1928 he was its editor. His contributions, always scholarly, readable and of a

practical character, have been well received by our readers. We cannot praise Father Betten without, at the same time, praising ourselves. In reviewing the present volume, we are proud to note that at least eight articles from the BULLETIN are here printed.

In his introduction to the book, Msgr. Peter Guilday has anticipated some of the comments we might make. He finds in Father Betten a research-scholar who approaches his wide range of interesting topics with fearlessness, calm and devotion to objective truth. He observes, moreover, that Father Betten can write entertainingly. The wholehearted approval of the secretary of the Catholic Historical Association should be ample recommendation for *From Many Centuries*. As editor of the *Catholic Historical Review* Msgr. Guilday has read much of what Father Betten has written. As the spear-head of the Catholic advance in the historical field, he knows how to appreciate the driving force of his most constant collaborator.

We have not mentioned the most arresting feature of this very useful volume. It is "specially priced at \$1.00." It would be a good investment at more than twice the price. R. CORRIGAN.

Medieval Number Symbolism; its Sources, Meaning and Influence on Thought and Expression, by Vincent Foster Hopper. New York. Columbia University Press. 1938. pp. xii and 241. \$2.90.

The medieval mind delighted in symbolism, and more specifically in number symbolism. The sophisticated modern smiles at what for him is naive, childish, meaningless. Largely because we live on the surface of things we are content to use numbers merely as mathematical tools. Their importance is limited to their utility in weighing and measuring sense-perceived objects. But the thinker of the Middle Ages searched and found reality in a realm beyond external appearances. His world was confined within narrow limits, but his vision reached out to eternity and infinity. He needed the language of symbols.

We may have been amused at the assurance with which the great Fathers of the Church draw lessons from a 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, or even from a 38 or 153. But their apparently idle juggling had a meaning for their hearers. Why, for example, should the lovely Beatrice be a number "9"? And why in her ultimate perfection should she be a "10"? Dante was, in fact, writing sublime poetry in verse form as other writers wrote in prose or as the builders of the cathedrals wrote their "frozen eloquence" in stone.

Medieval Number Symbolism is a scholar's effort to explore the medieval field, and to clarify its bewildering symbols. He takes his reader from the early astrologers and the Pythagoreans through the Fathers down to Dante. We wish he had not attempted to comment upon the dual nature of Christ or upon the Holy Trinity. He is on much safer ground when he trails along behind Dante than when he essays to "create" the Godhead.

R. CORRIGAN.

Hispanic America: Colonial and Republican, by Charles Edward Chapman. New York. Macmillan Company. 1938. pp. xxxiv and 868. \$4.00.

In this latest edition, Professor Chapman's *Colonial Hispanic America* (reviewed in HISTORICAL BULLETIN, XII, 18-19) and his *Republican Hispanic America* (*ibid.*, XVI, 56-57) are published in a single volume. The chief advantage to the student lies in the cost of the book. At the expense of repetition, we may say that the author has achieved his goal: an interesting and scholarly portrayal of the whole sweep of Hispanic American History. Of special value is his "Essay on Authorities." M. HASTING.

Merchants of Peace; Twenty Years of Business Diplomacy through the International Chamber of Commerce, 1919-1938, by George L. Ridgeway. Columbia University Press. New York. 1938. xiv + 426. \$3.75.

The title of this book is not merely a cleverly turned catch-phrase aimed at capturing the attention of that large portion of the reading public whose interest is aroused only by the epigrammatic. It succinctly reveals the contents of the volume: a story of the efforts of the "Business Men's League of Nations" to promote peace, progress and cordial relations between the countries and their citizens by facilitating international trade relations and securing harmony of action on all questions affecting commerce and industry.

Though the International Chamber of Commerce was established in 1905, and functioned with a measure of effectiveness during the pre-war period, its most extensive operations have been carried out since its reorganization in 1919. The formulation of a policy which would supply a satisfactory solution to

the three major politico-economic problems of the post-war era—reparations, war debts and trade barriers—has been the chief objective of the I. C. C. during the past two decades. Unlike the League of Nations, this organization is largely free from political control. This freedom has allowed the development of a unique relationship between business and government in the international sphere. It is the conviction of the members of the I. C. C., as the author repeatedly insists, that armament races can be halted, security for individuals and nations achieved, and trade made to flow in increasing quantities only by greater international cooperation on the part of both business and government.

Professor Ridgeway presents a very readable description of the machinery set up by the organization to realize its objectives together with a careful evaluation of the results thus far obtained. Students of history will find in his work a clear analysis of the economic factors which have exerted such a powerful influence on the shaping of international politics during the past twenty years.

CLARENCE J. RYAN.

The Growth of European Civilization, by A. E. R. Boak, Albert Hyma, and Preston Slosson. F. S. Crofts & Co. New York. 1938. pp. xxv and 488 and 613. \$4.50.

Any attempt to set down the story of the growth of European civilization between the covers of a single volume is an ambitious one. The authors, historians at Michigan University, have realized the magnitude of the undertaking, and only after a preparation of several years have they finally published this fine piece of work. Ancient history is sketchily presented in the first few chapters, followed by a rather good presentation of medieval history. In the second part of the book the narrative is continued from the Protestant Revolt down to the troubled present. Throughout, the work is most readable, and while political history is chiefly treated yet there are several chapters on the social, economic, and cultural aspects of various eras. Following each chapter is a list of suggested readings, good on the whole, but far from complete. Conspicuous by its absence is Carlton J. H. Hayes' classic, *A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*, although many of his other works are listed.

Among the very few statements to which exception must be taken are the following: "Christianity was a religious revival among the Jews" (p. 113); Philip II of Spain "paid Jesuit priests to sow sedition in England" (II, 47); "Missionaries did not scruple at winning converts by force. Many thousands of children were kidnapped in the early years of colonization and taught the Catholic faith and the Spanish language" (II, 131). These slips are by no means indicative of the tone of the work, which is on the whole fair and free of bias. It may be recommended without hesitation for use in the classroom and will certainly give as fine a survey of European history as one can expect in a work of this kind.

The authors conclude on a rather philosophical note, condemning the pessimism of Spengler and others, and holding out the hope that men will in time extricate themselves from the existing turmoil and strife. The "human animal," as they call man, is "uncommonly tough and adaptable," and has conquered and made himself at home in every environment. Although they would seem to consider man as a self-sufficient being, yet in their concluding sentence they indicate, although very vaguely, his need for something more than mere material aids to insure the preservation of European civilization: "The moral and religious progress which can alone insure that our increased scientific knowledge will not be wasted in selfish, harmful, and destructive ways cannot indeed be taken for granted, but lies quite within our power to achieve." But how reluctant people are today to utter that simple three-letter word that is the answer to all our troubles! What man needs is to return to God! Why not say so?

P. T. DERRIG.

Italy at the Paris Peace Conference, by René Albrecht-Carrié. Columbia University Press. New York. 1938. pp. xiv and 575. \$5.25.

At the Peace Conference in 1919 Italy found herself in the unenviable rôle of protagonist of the Old Order against the New. She had entered the war on the side of the allies with the signing of the Treaty of London by provisions of which she would in the event of victory be enabled to obtain the fulfilment of her national policy: redemption of the Italians under Austria, security on land, and control of the Adriatic. However the provisions of this and other secret treaties between the allied nations were flagrantly opposed to the Wilsonian principles which dominated the Peace Conference. Other nations accordingly abandoned their demands on the basis of treaty obligations, but put forth the same demands as victors' rights. Italy was "on the spot"

here, for the territory pledged to her by the Treaty of London belonged to a country formerly part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but now present at the Peace Conference as an ally, namely, Yugoslavia. The Italian representatives saw no way out except to fall back on the written promises of her allies. This stand led to the dramatic diplomatic duel between Wilson and the Italians which resulted in a deadlock broken only by the defeat of the Democratic Party in 1920. Soon after this date Italy and Yugoslavia began negotiations which led eventually to the settlement of the Adriatic question.

Historians and especially students of international affairs will find this scholarly volume interesting and helpful. The author has not attempted to plead a case or to pass any judgment in the light of his investigations. He has merely sought to trace the development of the negotiations and to present a fair account of a subject hitherto much misunderstood. In his preparation of this volume he has had access to all the records available at the present time, among which is a great deal of material of American origin. The story of Italian participation in the Peace Conference takes up slightly over half the book. There are some two hundred pages of documents, a valuable bibliography, several maps, and an exceptionally full index.

F. T. DERRIG.

The South, Its Economic-Geographic Development, A. E. Parkins. New York. John Wiley & Sons. 1938. pp. ix + 528. \$5.00.

History never mixes with prophecy, but from the facts of the past is moulded a hope for the future. Parkins has allowed an element of prophetic vision to slip into *The South*. It is a wholesome element completely different from that of the reminiscent meanderings given us recently in so many of the southern Regionalists' writings. As a professor in the Peabody College at Nashville he is in as apt position to judge of the south as are his close neighbors who allow their emotional imagination to color their work.

The jacket blurb tells us that the material in this book "is presented scientifically and without bias," and for the most part the statement is true. The author is not trying to sell the South to the nation nor is he trying to excuse it. His presentation is historical and factual, enhanced by a large number of charts, figures, graphs and pictures. These are informative and their interpretation is highly readable.

But all is not acceptable in the professor's book. On page 10 he writes, "We in the south have many thousands of farmers yet who should seek other forms of labor. They are wasting the major part of their time and energy in a pursuit that gives them at most a bare existence." On page 266 he writes, "Most of the evils that befall this agricultural region are rooted in tenancy." But nowhere does he talk sanely of subsistence farming as it can be and is being done today in the south.

The prospects for the future, according to the author, include the breakup of sectionalism and a greater industrialization, a lower birth rate and more urbanization. In the interest of these "improvements" he argues repeatedly against "conservatism," assuming rightly that conservatism is a drag on southern progress, and assuming wrongly that all of these things are improvements.

Comparatively speaking, the reader will get more for his money in Howard Odum's book, *The New South*, than in Parkin's, *The South*.

Jos. FICHTER.

Letters of Henry Adams, edited by Worthington Chauncy Ford. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Company. 1938. pp. x + 672. \$4.50.

The world and its people are the historian's stock in trade. Seen from the eyes of Henry Adams it is a cheerless business. Writing to Sir Cecil Spring Rice in 1912, he says that it "shows its joy in life by grumbling." Two years later he tells Elizabeth Cameron: "Thank God, I never was cheerful. . . . I am told it is Christmas. The world is just howling with peace and good will among men. I don't think we can stand much more." In 1893 he wrote to Gaskell: "I care not what happens to governments or societies," and again in the following year: "Every time I come back to what we are pleased to call civilized life, it bores me more, and seems to me more hopelessly idiotic."

A man who grumbles at the world cannot be expected to give an accurate, unbiased opinion of the world's people. Presidents and bankers and Jews were the constant target of his verbal attacks. In 1896 he wrote phrases such as "that Wall street drudge Cleveland," and "densesness of Cleveland's intelligence," and "dear sweet angelic Buffalo boar Cleveland." Roosevelt was "lunatic," and Wilson and Taft "grotesquely imbecilic." To Gaskell he writes, "We are in the hands of the Jews," and to Sir Robert Cunliffe, "I love you, but I don't love your Lombard Street Jews

who rule you." The trusts and bankers displeased him and he thought the American triumvirate was made up of Pullman, Carnegie and Cleveland in 1894. Two years later the big thieves were "Morgan, McKinley and the Trusts." The city of Washington itself labored under a "stupid felicity."

As a literary study the final *Letters of Henry Adams* are very much worth while; as an historical interpretation of men and events they leave much to be desired for they are written by a gloomy and caustic man. As a travelog the present volume is a delight for the letter-writer hopped from country to country and took no end of pain in describing what he saw and what he did. The editor of the letters deserves commendation for the arrangement of a careful and complete index of twenty pages.

Jos. FICHTER.

Guy Stanton Ford, On and Off the Campus, edited by Theodore C. Blegen. University of Minnesota Press. 1938. pp. 511. \$4.00.

In 1913 Guy Stanton Ford was called to Minnesota University to fill the double charge of Professor of History and Dean of the Graduate School. Twice thereafter, he was acting President of the University. In 1937 he was President of the American Historical Association. His success as an administrator might have meant the ruin of a good historian. His continued interest in history might have been allowed to interfere with his duties as Dean. Neither of these things happened. The same qualities of mind and character which made him an able interpreter of the human past were his best equipment in the ordinarily thankless job of controlling his graduate faculty and students.

It is an old German custom to honor a popular pedagogue by assembling specimens from the output of his brighter students. In this case the process has been reversed, and Dean Ford has been forced to honor himself by republishing some five hundred pages of his own productions. The friends who have known him on and off the campus will treasure the book as a whole. Others, for whom he has been merely the affable historian or Dean, will enjoy glimpses of his mind and character revealed in his lighter rôle of editorial writer.

R. CORRIGAN.

Golden Book of Eastern Saints, by Donald Attwater. Bruce Publishing Company. Milwaukee. 1938. pp. xx + 166. \$2.25.

There is a thrill in delving into an old treasured trunk, and something akin to this experience awaits the reader of Attwater's new book. The treasures, only too long dismissed and forgotten by Western Catholics, are some two dozen beautiful and inspiring pen pictures of Eastern Saints, selected not because they were the most universally acclaimed holy ones of God, but chosen rather as typical examples of the various phases of Eastern sanctity. Most of these saints, beginning with St. Basil some fifteen hundred years ago and coming down to Syrian Maronites of our own time, will be unknown to the reader. With the exception of the past few years, American Catholics have been all too culpably ignorant of the Oriental rites, and of that common unity they possessed with this branch of Christ's Church.

For the western Catholic a new world will open up with strange faces, strange customs and strange pageantry, yet through it all he will be very much at home: he will be aware that theirs is the same spirit, the same doctrine, the same faith and sanctity as that possessed by the Western Church.

N. P. LOEHR.

European History since 1870, by F. Lee Benns. F. S. Crofts and Co. New York. 1938. pp. xvi + 925. \$6.00.

With bated breath and fearful expectancy the world today is watching Europe. Crisis after crisis has arisen in the past few months, each threatening to blast the world in another Armageddon. Now it is Rome, now Madrid that threatens to strike the spark that will set off the fireworks; again, it is Moscow, London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Prague. Unrest at home, and fear and hate and distrust of their neighbors have rendered the nations of Europe highly inflammable material. This tense situation did not mushroom into being; it is the natural offspring of the Great War and the abominable Treaty of Versailles, and its roots can be traced still further back into the last decades of the nineteenth century which saw the rise of the nations of Central Europe as world powers. If one is to have even a faint understanding of the European scene today, some knowledge of European history for the past seventy years is necessary.

In this extremely readable volume Professor Benns has given us a rather complete picture of European developments since 1870. Although in the main a political history, the author begins

by explaining the social and economic trends in Europe since that date. This is followed by chapters on internal problems and developments and the imperialistic and foreign policies of each country during this time. The parts played by nationalism, imperialism, entangling alliances, armament expansion, and the rise of international fear and suspicion before the World War are clearly pointed out, while the War itself and its aftermath culminating in the present international situation receive rather full treatment. The last part of the book deals with the national problems of the nations of postwar Europe, the rise of Communists, Fascists, Nazis, and the like, and closes with a chapter on the Far Eastern situation.

"Contemporary History," "Current History" are almost self-contradictory terms. Whoever attempts to treat of the events that are stirring our times lacks the perspective and consequently the true historical objectivity that the passing of years makes possible, for only then will passions grow calm, and biases, even unconscious and unwanted, break down; only then will the mountains of accumulated evidence be sifted and the good grain of truth be separated out from the cockle of falsehood and propaganda. The chapters in this book on Soviet Russia and in particular on the present Spanish situation show that Professor Benns has not escaped this pitfall of "current historians." His picture of Russia and its people is much rosier than the known facts will admit, and his extremely misleading account of the Spanish War mars an otherwise splendid piece of workmanship. There is one defect of omission. The paper jacket on the book calls attention to the great figures treated within its covers, a sweep of famous names from Bismarck and Gladstone down to the half-dozen regular head-liners of our daily press. The names of the "outstanding single figure in the world today," Pius XI, and his only slightly less important predecessors, Leo and Benedict, are merely alluded to once or twice in passing. It seems incredible that any history of Europe can pretend to give a complete picture without treating proportionately the affairs and policies of the Vatican, especially in the period under consideration here. The bibliographies for each chapter are quite full and that on Spain incidentally contains several antidotes to the author's presentation of the case.

PHILIP T. DERRIG.

THE CHURCH AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, by Raymond Corrigan, should be reviewed in this issue, and of course favorably! The fact is, we have a review on hand that is just a little too enthusiastic. In deference to the Publisher, who has done a really fine job, and who is interested in making the book known to Christmas shoppers, this announcement is made. The book may be ordered from The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee.

Another volume which will have to wait for our January issue is EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE JESUITS IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY NEW SPAIN, by Jerome V. Jacobson. This is a scholarly study, the first in a new series published under the direction of Herbert Eugene Bolton by the University of California Press. The high standard set by this first volume will be maintained in PIONEER BLACK ROBES ON THE WEST COAST, by Peter M. Dunne.

Other books to be reviewed:

Democracy in the Making, by H. R. Fraser. Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1938. \$3.50.

Syndical and Corporative Institutions of Italian Fascism, by G. Lowell Field. Columbia University Press. 1938. \$2.75.

England's Years of Danger, by Paul Frischauer. Oxford University Press. 1938. \$2.75.

The Development of Religious Toleration in England (1640-1660), by W. K. Jordan. Harvard University Press. 1938. \$5.00.

Tecumseh and His Times, by John M. Oskison. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1938. \$2.75.

Medieval Handbooks of Penance, by J. T. McNeill and Helen Garner. Columbia University Press. 1938. \$4.75.

The French Revolution, by E. L. Higgins. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1938. \$2.75.

Winning of Oregon, by Melvin C. Jacobs. Caxton Printers. 1938. \$3.00.

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